Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XV - No. 4 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 22, 1951 | PRICE: FIVE CENTS

THE WORLD CRISIS AND STALINISM

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World Opinion Forces UN 'Peace' Maneuvers

U.S. LABOR'S STRUGGLE LINKED TO ASIA REVOLT

By The Editor

The White House and the Pentagon are thinking of a negotiated peace in the Korea war. They have been confronted with three granite facts. First, the combined strength of the Chinese and Korean revolutions has so far proved superior to the military power of U.S. capitalism. Second, there is a tidal wave of popular resistance all over the world to becoming involved in the Truman-MacArthur intervention in Asia. Third, the American people want the war stopped now.

This failure of American capitalist power to crush the Asian revolution despite superior arms has given new confidence to oppressed peoples everywhere. The decayed system of capitalism in Europe and colonial exploitation in Asia has one main "policeman" -- the U.S. ruling class. And that ruling class no longer seems invincible.

As yet U.S. workers have not by and large connected the setback of their own ruling class abroad with their experiences at home. The unexpected failure of American arms in what was considered a minor foray against a weak people on a tiny peninsula has staggered the American public.

Big Business and U.S. Workers

However, to understand what has happened to U.S. imperialism abroad, the workers need only turn to their own experiences with Big Business over the past two decades. It is not news to American workers that the blustering monopolists can be whipped. They whipped them handily in the organizing drives of the late Thirties and early Forties. They again humbled the big corporations in the post-war strikes.

The same ruling class which served an ultimatum to the Korean people to submit to capitalist rule, also commanded the American workers to bend the knee to open shop rule. Henry Ford once bluntly announced he would never sign a union contract; the domineering bosses of Bethlehem Steel would not talk with union representatives; General Motors called out the National Guard to put down "anarchy" and "red terror" against the '37 sitdowners.

But the U.S. mass production workers, fed up with the speed-up and the stretch-out, determined to win their democratic rights in industry and under the slogan "Solidarity Forever" brought the industrial tyrants to heel. The odds against the workers seemed overwhelming. Just as the U.S. imperialists used the UN to bring pressure against the Korean people, so the American capitalists used their courts against labor. But here as in Korea, the odds proved, in fact, to be against the small minority of industrial barons who were powerless against the organized forces of the new unions.

Invincible Power of the Oppressed

The U.S. workers demonstrated in struggle their inventiveness, talents and power. They found new ways to fight and win, just as the Korean soldiers mystified the West Point brass with their "irregular" tactics and "fanaticism."

Workers who know all this can also understand what humbled Truman and MacArthur in Korea. It was the invincible power of the oppressed millions, striking for freedom, unity and independence, convinced their cause was just. The U.S. billionaires have not given up. Although forced to retreat, they continue preparing for large-scale war against the Asian peoples, just as they never rest in their class-war against the workers at home.

Wall Street's wars to crush the anti-capitalist struggles of the peoples of the world are no less reactionary than their unremitting offensive against the American workers. These wars will never cease until the U.S. workers join in the world-wide fight for socialist emancipation.

Next Week

"THE GREATEST ATROCITY"

A Documentary Record of U. S. Intervention In Korea

DON'T MISS IT!

Power of Asian Revolution Staggers U.S. Imperialism

By Art Preis

Peiping has rejected the terms of the latest UN "peace" proposal as a maneuver "merely to give the U.S. forces a chance to rest" and recoup their strength for renewed warfare in Korea. Mao Tse-tung's government is insisting that the invading American forces be withdrawn from Korea as a major condition for consideration of any settlement of the Far Eastern conflict.

Moreover, Mao opposes restricting any conference on a Far East settlement to the "Big Three" powers (U.S., Britain and Soviet Union) and China, as the UN plan provided. Peiping demands the inclusion of semi-colonial India and Egypt, as the leading nations of Asia and the Middle East, in any discussion involving the fate of the colonial world. It also insists on the participation of France in order to raise the question of the latter's four-year war against the Indo-Chinese people.

WELL-FOUNDED SUSPICION

Chinese suspicion of Washington's intent in voting for the UN's cease-fire plan is well-founded. U.S. representatives in the UN, after the vote, had let it be known that they had agreed to the plan only because they felt sure the Chinese would not accept it. State Department spokesmen, in defending the administration from charges of "appeasement," pointedly stated that "discussion" with China did not imply any concessions.

Nevertheless, the fact that the U.S. voted for the cease-fire proposal at all is generally recognized as a diplomatic retreat for American imperialism. That is why it has stirred up a further storm of disagreement over foreign policy within Congress and has even created the beginnings of a conflict in administration circles.

CONCESSION TO CHINA

It is true that the State Dept. regarded the cease-fire plan, if accepted by Peiping, as a maneuver to gain time for strengthening U.S. forces in Korea. But the fact remains — and this is what is such a bitter pill for the capitalist politicians in Washington — that their maneuver involved a concession to the Mao Tse-tung regime, insofar as it acceded to direct discussion with China on the previously-banned issues of Formosa and seating of Peiping in the UN.

Their maneuver — a fact they cannot conceal — was from weakness and not from strength. Their concession, however hedged with conditions and mental reservations, was wrested from them against their will. They were forced into it by the power of the Asian revolution, as expressed by the sweeping advances of the Chinese and Korean armies against U.S. military might, and by the great tide of world public opinion, including large sections of the American people.

Originally, Washington had tried to get the UN to demand withdrawal of the Chinese forces from Korea as a condition for any Far East "settlement." Only a few days before the cease-fire plan was voted on, the State Dept. circulated in the UN a proposal to brand China as an "aggressor" and to invoke "sanctions" against her.

THE UN PROPOSAL

But the U.S. delegates approved a simultaneous cease-fire by both sides, to be followed by further attempts to restore peace, effect the withdrawal of all non-Korean troops "in stages," arrange for the Koreans to choose their own government and, finally to hold a UN-sponsored conference between the U.S., Britain, Soviet Union and China with specific reference to Formosa and UN membership for Peiping.

It is, of course, no coincidence that the U.S. agreed to this when its military situation in Korea is extremely grave and when its own "allies" are clamoring for concessions to Peiping rather than involve them, along with America, in full-scale war with the 500 million Chinese people.

Both the European and Asian "friends" of U.S. imperialism refused to go along with Washington's "get tough" policy. These governments are under terrific

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J.P. CANNON EXPLAINS SKOGLUND CASE ISSUES

NEW YORK CITY, Jan. 15 — The recent deportation order against Carl Skoglund under the McCarran Act was reported in the Swedish press and brought a letter of inquiry about his case from Evald Hoglund, Swedish Trotskyist leader, to the Socialist Workers Party. Following is the reply by SWP National Secretary James P. Cannon:

Dear Comrades:

It is true, as you read in the press, that the U.S. Immigration Department has ordered Carl Skoglund's deportation. However, you should not expect to see him in Sweden for some time, if at all, since his case is far from concluded.

For over a decade government officials and other agents of the employing class have persecuted this veteran warrior of American labor, hoping to eliminate him from the union movement and expel him from the country. However, he together with his host of friends and supporters have never ceased combating these attacks and they intend to continue the fight for his rights and against his deportation.

WIDESPREAD SUPPORT

Skoglund's case has widespread support in labor and liberal circles. Many prominent defenders of civil rights in this country have come to his aid through the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Skoglund merits this support first of all for his long and honorable record of service to labor's cause. For almost forty years he had been active in union ranks and was foremost among those who helped build labor's present power throughout the Northwest.

Moreover, his defenders have recognized that the persecution against him is more than a personal matter and involves issues affecting every American. Skoglund is the second victim of the recently-enacted McCarran Law

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Swedish Letter On Skoglund Case

Dear Comrades,

In an ordinary bourgeois paper we have read that the old Swede, Carl Skoglund, is expelled from the USA. He has been charged with "revolutionary action" for the Trotskyists! If it is any reality behind this and if Skoglund is coming to Sweden and when, let us know it immediately.

With revolutionary greetings,

EVALD HOGLUND
Stockholm, Sweden
(Swedish Trotskyist leader)

Censorship Keeps GIs' Voice from Home Folks

What is happening to the American GIs facing possible entrapment in Korea? What are they thinking and saying? Are they, echoing the pleas of their parents and wives at home, asking to be withdrawn from the bloody Korean mess into which they were unwillingly thrust? Do they, too, want the war to be stopped now before more tens of thousands of them are added to the over 50,000 U.S. casualties already suffered in Truman's "police action?"

In imposing what the United Press describes as "the strictest censorship regulations in the history of war reporting," Gen. MacArthur and the Pentagon have lowered an iron curtain between the men at the front and the folks back home. Both the text of the censorship regulations and war correspondents' reports that have leaked through the censorship indicate that one of the main purposes of the tight press gag is to keep the voice of the troops from reaching this country.

According to a Jan. 9 Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo, correspondents are forbidden, among other restrictions, to file stories that would "embarrass the United States, its allies or neutral countries," that would "injure the morale of our forces, or our allies" or might cause "despondency in our forces or our people." Breach of these regulations by correspondents would mean expulsion from the war theatre and even court-martial, although newspapermen are civilians.

Very revealing is the AP disclosure that "for several days large chunks of field dispatches have been snipped out of press reports" and "one field dispatch from an AP correspondent, Tom Lambert, was killed by censors because it described American troops as dispirited, bewildered and uncertain of the future."

WHAT SOLDIERS THINK

Not the least purpose of the news blackout from Korea is to keep correspondents from reporting what the soldiers think about **the officer corps, right up to** MacArthur himself. MacArthur's press handouts may fool some people back home about his responsibility for the military disaster in Korea, but they don't fool the men who are facing the hot lead. They have their own ideas about MacArthur's "genius" and no doubt are expressing these ideas among themselves. It is now the opinion of almost all war correspondents — those who wrote glowingly just a few weeks ago about MacArthur's "great military leadership" — that from the standpoint of military tactics MacArthur and his staff have displayed incredible stupidity.

N. Y. Times correspondent Richard J. H. Johnston, writing from Tokyo, charged on Jan. 10 that the censorship "made it conceivable that the Korean war could not be covered at all — at least with any degree of truth ... **It appeared to many veteran correspondents that censorship . . . was being used to cover up military errors and defeats."**

MacARTHUR'S ALIBIS

Homer Bigart, N. Y. Herald-Tribune correspondent whose brilliant coverage of the Korean war has won him a Pulitzer Prize, states flatly in the current Look magazine that MacArthur's "unsound deployment of the United Nations forces and momentous blunder . . . helped insure the success of the enemy's strategy" and "precipitated and magnified the swift disaster." Brushing aside MacArthur's alibi that his retreat (a word correspondents are now prohibited from using) was caused by the "overwhelming hordes" confronting the U.S. forces, Bigart says, "The harsh and unassailable fact of the Korean campaign is that a fine American army, powerfully supported by the Air Force and Navy, was defeated by an enemy that had no navy, virtually no air force and scarcely any armor or artillery."

The truth is that the American troops are being led by ambitious and arrogant career men, seeking only their own advancement, who are ready to play with the lives

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PROTESTS MOUNTING ON DRAFT OF 18-YEAR OLDS

As the administration disclosed its program to conscript all 18-year old young men for two years and three months, a steadily increasing torrent of protest letters and telegrams poured into Washington.

Testimony of Secretary of Defense Marshall and his assistant, Anna M. Rosenberg, before the Senate Armed Services Committee revealed the sweep of U.S. capitalism's plans to Prussianize the youth. As both Marshall and Rosenberg emphasized, the plan was not an "emergency" measure but a long range program of militarization. The bill they presented not only has no time limit but some of its sections presume its remaining in force for more than ten years. The proposed bill does not replace the present draft of men in the 19 to 26 age group. That draft will continue. The new measure would obligate all young men upon their reaching their 18th birthday, to 27 months in the Jim Crow armed forces.

Furthermore the administration spokesmen revealed to the senators that Truman had just increased the figure for the armed forces to 3,462,205 and that the forces had to reach that figure as early as possible, with June 30, 1951 as the very latest. It was also stated that Truman may set even higher figures within the next few weeks.

LONG PERIOD OF SERVICE

By lowering its physical standards the military leaders figure that they can take 80 per cent of all 18-year olds. The remaining 20 per cent will be subject to some type of non-military duty which has not yet been decided upon. The 18-year olds accepted by the armed forces would be given from four to six months of basic training (at reduced pay) and then would be available for all types of duty — overseas and especially combat. After completing their 27 months, assuming they had not been killed in some "police action" or that the country had not been plunged into an all-out war, they would then have to join the National Guard or Organized Reserve for three years or the inactive reserves for six years.

As Marshall and Rosenberg were spelling out the drastic terms of the conscription proposal, letters and telegrams from angry constituents started deluging the congressmen. One senator, who asked that his name be kept secret, told reporters that "The protests have been increasing with every mail." Other senators, upon being questioned, admitted that they were receiving an ever-increasing number of protests on the 18-year old draft.

PENTAGON DILEMMA

The Defense Department spokesmen bluntly warned the senators that if they weren't given the 18-year olds their alternative would be drafting married veterans without children and non-veteran fathers in the 19 to 26 year groups.

Many politicians caught between the cross fires of the militarization program and the wrath of parents are looking for a way out of the hot spot in which they find themselves. A "compromise" now receiving serious consideration is to conscript the male youth at 18½ rather than at the age of 18. This proposal originated with Senator Taft.

U. S. Army Censor Holds Reporter 'Incommunicado'

Alex Valentine, correspondent for Reuters, leading British news agency, reported on Jan. 15 that the he was "virtually held incommunicado for twelve hours" at the U.S. First Corps headquarters in Korea when he sought to transmit a story which "concerned grumbling by enlisted men."

He finally was released and got his dispatch cleared by the Eighth Army censor to whom he was seeking to transmit the story when he was held by the First Corps chief of staff. The latter said the report of the soldiers' grievances was "scurrilous" and "untrue."

Truman's War Budget to Boost Workers' Taxes Another 40%

Truman wasn't fooling when he said in his Economic Message to Congress on Jan. 12 that the American people would have to pay "much higher taxes" to finance his war program and "must expect sacrifices."

On Jan. 15 he spelled it out in cold cash. He called for 1952 federal spending equal to the annual average of the World War II years from 1942 to 1945. The appropriations figure he set for the fiscal year 1952, which begins this coming July 1, was $71,594,000,000 (that's billions).

BIG LEAP IN ONE YEAR

This is a terrific 78% leap in one year over the present all-time-high "peacetime" budget of $47,210,000,000. Almost all of the 1952 increase is for military expenditures. Proposed appropriations for the U.S. armed forces are $41,400,000,000 compared to $12,300,000,000 in the pre-Korea fiscal year ending last June 30, and $21 billion for the 1951 fiscal year ending this June 30.

Against this $71½ billion budget the government will have estimated maximum receipts of **$55,138,000,000 including the 20%** increase in income taxes of wage-earners enacted last year. The expected receipts will be $16½ billion short of expenditures, but Truman in his budget message insisted that we must maintain a "balanced budget."

Although his budget message contained no actual proposal on new taxes, he informed reporters that he intends to ask Congress for as much as $20 billion more in taxes for 1952. Most of these taxes, according to the report of his Council of Economic Advisors on which his messages were based, must come from the "lower and middle income brackets."

TAXES ON WORKERS

A rise of even $16½ billion in taxes will double this year's increase of $8 billion. For every five dollars the workers pay in taxes in the current fiscal year, after this coming June 30 they will pay $2 more, a 40% boost over the recent 20% hike.

But, Truman admitted, "the full amount of inflationary pressure is not measured by the budget deficit alone." In addition to the $71½ billion that will actually be appropriated, there is the matter of "obligational authority" whereby the government actually contracts for tens of billions of dollars more expenditures to be paid off in following years. For the Dept. of Defense alone this amounts to $112 billion for 1951 and '52. The total in obligational authority is $142 billion. The estimated final two-year budget will total $182 billion, or more than $90 billion per year — just $8 billion short of the 1944 wartime peak.

This amounts to more than $500 for every man, woman and child in the U.S. — more than $2,000 per average family of four. One out of every three dollars of income will be extracted from the American people to pay for this war-preparation budget. This can only mean a drastic slash in living standards.

TRUMAN'S AUSTERITY PROGRAM

Thus, Truman summed up the economic cost of his war program with "we must work harder, reduce consumption, and forego improvements in farm, business and household equipment." For the workers, specifically, it means "additional shifts and longer hours," "taxation . . . supplemented by greatly increased savings . . . invested in government bonds" and, above all, reduction of purchasing power available to labor.

Wage "stabilization . . . must be undertaken if prices are to be stabilized," Truman said. Since there will be "severe" contraction in supplies of consumers goods, "the objective should be to limit correspondingly total spending of wages." **Speaking with obvious reference to escalator wage contracts that provide automatic wage increases to meet past price increases, Truman said ominously that "to extend such cost-of-living adjustments without limitation, even in all those cases where it could be done, would add to the process of wages chasing prices and prices chasing wages."**

Of the total 1952 budget only $7.8 billion — little more than 10% — will go for all government "non-defense" expenses, including social welfare programs. Almost 90% will go for war or war-connected expenses, past or present.

The World Crisis -- The Doom of Stalinism

By Michel Pablo

The test of strength to which imperialism has committed itself in Korea is now turning into disaster.

The consequences of the defeat sustained in that sector of the world front where, in the final analysis, the forces of revolution and imperialism are locked in battle, will soon prove to be far-reaching.

This has not escaped the attention of the best-informed bourgeois spokesmen, correspondents or politicians.

IMPERIALISM ROUTED IN ASIA

They realize that imperialism has been routed in Asia by the uprising of revolutionary masses and that its forced withdrawal from colonial areas will bring about a fatal deterioration of its world system.

For the first time since the end of the Second World War they also realize to what extent the relationship of forces on the international chess-board has become unfavorable to imperialism and threatens to become even worse.

Great confusion as well as panic now prevails in the imperialist camp. And this came about at the very moment when the arrogant gang of American military and political leaders believed that victory had been won in Korea.

Within a few days MacArthur, idol of the reactionary world bourgeoisie, raised on a pedestal of glory, was turned into a common scapegoat. He is now accused of ignoring the most elementary rules of military art by fanning out his forces from a weak center, thus falling into the Chinese trap.

COLLAPSE OF COLONIAL RULE

In reality, however, the Korean defeat represents collapse of an attempt by imperialism to stem the disintegration of its colonial domain and to alter the relationship of forces in its favor by relying on forces which proved incapable of achieving this goal.

The united imperialist front, built around American imperialism with the help of the UN, has thrown all the military and political forces at its disposal, all of its available mobile resources into the Korean battle, and imperialism has lost this battle.

This confirms the analysis of the relationship of forces made by our movement ever since the outbreak of the Korean war. We indicated that this relationship is evolving unfavorably for imperialism, and that imperialism, conscious of its weaknesses, would hesitate to unleash a general war.

We added that even if imperialism, frightened by the dimensions of the retreat it has to make, should, in spite of everything, provoke such a war, there is no reason for us to fear it. We should, on the contrary regard it as the equivalent of the final struggle in Asia and Europe against imperialism and anticipate inevitable revolutionary consequences in America itself.

STALINIST BETRAYALS

We can now go even further. We can state that had the Soviet bureaucracy really pursued a revolutionary policy and had the Communist parties, instead of confusing the European masses with campaigns "for Peace" and for "signatures," educated them in the spirit of a revolutionary perspective, it would today be possible to reject any compromise with imperialism and carry the revolutionary drive of the Asian and European masses through to the very end.

For never has the international situation of imperialism been worse, its military unpreparedness more glaring, its confusion and demoralization more acute.

But the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist parties under its command is naturally very different. We must hammer on this.

KREMLIN AIMS AT COMPROMISE

If the Kremlin in Korea, in the UN, at the Warsaw "Peace" Congress and through the whole policy of the Communist parties of the Western capitalist nations, aims at a compromise with imperialism, and not at the consistent struggle to abolish it, then this is not due to the fear of imperialist military superiority, but above all to the fear of the character such a war against imperialism will assume in this period.

In the present relationship of forces in Asia and Europe, where neither the colonial masses in revolt nor the proletariat in the metropolises have anywhere suffered a decisive defeat, an imperialist war against the USSR would rapidly take on the aspect of an international civil war, unleashing immense revolutionary forces. The Kremlin has no guarantee whatever that it will be able to control these forces wherever they are set in motion.

On the contrary, the shocks and revolutionary dynamism of such a war might break down all equilibriums, including the one achieved by the Soviet bureaucracy inside the USSR and to a lesser degree in the East European "buffer zone." In such a war the Soviet bureaucracy risks succumbing, together with imperialism, to the enormous revolutionary drive of the Asian and European masses struggling for their real liberation.

STALIN

Under such conditions war would become revolutionary "chaos" and the bureaucracy, even more than imperialism, fears everything it cannot rigidly control.

How then explain Stalin's semblance of support to the struggle of the Asian colonial peoples? The Soviet bureaucracy can well afford to support **limited and unhazardous** conquests provided these secure it obvious diplomatic and military advantages in its clash with imperialism. From this point of view it may, for example, favor the conquest of Korea or Indo-China achieved under control of the Communist parties, which it in turn dominates.

DIPLOMATIC ADVANTAGES

It is thus possible, although this is not certain, to explain its support to Kim Il Sung and the Korean Communist Party in overthrowing the rotten regime of Syngman Rhee and unifying all Korea under its influence.

But even in the case of such a limited conquest, the Soviet bureaucracy has revealed its opposition to a complete victory of the Korean revolutionary masses, by deliberately doling out its aid to the Koreans, in order that they might simply contain the imperialist armies engaged in Korea and thus prolong the conflict.

The Korean war was turned into a disaster for the imperialists beginning with the intervention of the Chinese who, in words and deeds, pursue a policy essentially different from that of the Kremlin.

The Thorezes of Europe, in response to anxious workers demanding Russian intervention in Korea last September and October claimed that this would play into the hands of the imperialists and provoke a general war. Meanwhile the Chinese, both in Peiping and later even at the Warsaw Congress, spoke in a diametrically opposite language. If we wish to avoid the spread of the war, Mao Tse-tung argued, then it is necessary to resist by force, beat down and demoralize the imperialists precisely in Korea.

In order to end the intervention in Korea, Mao opposed his volunteers and an open defense of their military actions in Korea by the Chinese representatives in the UN — to the signatures collected by Thorez and wires sent to the UN.

Could one say, as some do, that this is simply a division of labor between the Kremlin and Peiping, and that Stalin and Mao are actually collaborating in complete accord?

THE MARCH OF CHINA

Such speculations befit only those who are ignorant of the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy and its real relationships with revolutionary movements which develop on an independent basis, as is the case with the Chinese CP and with China itself.

The imperialists have gravely misconstrued the fact that both China and the USSR have a common interest in preventing the imperialists from controlling all of Korea. But the Kremlin will be the first to regret that events have taken such a turn as to cause the China of Mao Tse-tung to make such a ringing entry into the Korean arena upon which the eyes of Asia in revolt and the revolutionary proletariat are fixed. And in this way China marched into world politics.

Because such a strengthening of China — which is the pole for the revolutionary struggle of the Asian colonial masses, undermining the foundations of imperialism more powerfully than has been done by any other factor until now — may well prove the most powerful impetus toward an independent course of the Chinese Revolution.

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE WEST

The defeat of imperialism in Korea will be deeply felt in all Asia and in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries, including those nearest under the shadow of Yankee imperialism: Latin America. It will stimulate the revolutionary energies of millions the world over. They are now beginning to realize to one degree or another that we approach the final decisive battles in which the socialist future of mankind will be pitted against imperialism.

In the capitalist countries of the West this historic defeat, inflicted upon the most powerful imperialist country by colonial masses just emerging from oppression, will also have no less important repercussions.

The bourgeoisie will attempt to overcome its current confusion, its own contradictions newly aggravated by defeat, and its demoralization. And it will throw itself headlong into increasing and accelerated military preparations. "The entire West must adopt austerity," declares its hysterical press.

But its chances of counterposing guns in place of bread and of recreating the setting of national unity as against the "red peril" under the wing of "strong regimes" in order to be able to unleash the war and above all carry it on, are slimmer and riskier than ever before.

This war program will inevitably provoke the Western proletariat into great struggles. They will join the colonial masses in their assault on the last bastions of imperialism. These revolutionary perspectives dominate more and more the arena of history.

It is in this revolutionary crisis which is objectively maturing everywhere, and it is in this world perspective, that the struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy must likewise be placed. Stalinism will perish as this crisis unfolds.

Asia and the Kremlin Bureaucrats

By Dr. Colvin R. deSilva
Trotskyist Member of Ceylon Parliament

On Nov. 7, 1950, 33 years had elapsed since the event which has gone down in history as the Russian October Revolution. Its reverberations can still be heard; its repercussions are yet to work themselves out completely. At the same time, its very fate remains to be decisively determined. For, although the Russian revolution broke the chain of world capitalism at its weakest link, nevertheless the rest of the chain remains strong enough to fetter that revolution's further development.

There is however, a change in the Soviet Union's position internationally which may yet prove decisive. Although the Russian proletarian revolution has not yet decisively broken its 1917 borders, the Russian or Soviet state, which was that revolution's product, has certainly broken its isolation. There is today not merely the USSR but a whole system of states clustering around the USSR. Together, they constitute a wholly new phenomenon in world history.

The new phenomenon has brought new problems with it. The only feature really common to these states is that they are all ruled by Communist parties. Each of these Communist parties, however, differs from the other in its composition and structure. The state each rules also differs from the others. In consequence there is between these states quite as much friction as co-ordination.

NATURE OF STALINISM

This often violent friction must be attributed not to the uneven development of these countries but primarily to the nature of Stalinism and the ruling Soviet bureaucracy. Constituting, as this bureaucracy does, nothing but reaction enthroned at the heart of the revolution, the only relation it can establish with the new Communist party-ruled states is that of overlordship. The resistance on a revolutionary basis to this relationship has now filled a whole year or more of the history of the East European states.

The utterly contradictory character of the development of this bureaucracy's position is one of the striking features of the 33 years since the October Revolution.

From the point of view of material power, the Soviet bureaucracy has never been stronger in its history. It not only stands as the most powerful obstacle athwart American imperialism's road to world domination; it is also seen as the sole real competitor of the American ruling class for world rulership. Beside these two titans the most powerful of the remaining states recede into secondary positions.

Contradictorily, however, the Soviet bureaucracy, when regarded as a distinctive social formation or grouping, has never stood nearer the abyss of extinction. It too has won a war only to lose the peace. For, by bringing into being or helping to bring into being a whole series of Communist party-ruled states, it has tended to destroy or, at least, to undermine its own reason for existence.

The root of the Soviet bureaucracy's emergence and accession to power was the isolation of the Soviet state. The emergence of new Communist-party-ruled states tends to destroy, nay, destroys, that isolation in relation to the capitalist world. This fact cuts at the very root of the bureaucracy's existence. Doomed anyhow to be a purely transitory phenomenon socially, it now stands actually doomed historically. Yugoslavia heralded this fact. China does the same in another way.

Yugoslavia heralded the bureaucracy's doom because, on the one hand, it drove a deep fissure into the bureaucracy's international structure, and because, on the other hand, this fissure was created on the basis of the national independence question arising in a revolutionary, i.e., socialist, form as against the Soviet bureaucracy itself. The USSR is a multi-national state. Consequently, what the Soviet bureaucracy faces in the satellite countries, it can also have to face within the Soviet borders themselves.

CHINA AND STALINISM

China heralds the Soviet bureaucracy's doom because, on the one hand, she cannot be reduced to a mere satellite, and because, on the other hand, she will increasingly provide a competing and rival center of attraction to the Communist parties of the world. It is no accident that, within the Stalinist movement itself, the "Mao line" is being steadily and with increasing frequency contrasted with and counterposed to the "Stalin line."

The Soviet bureaucracy has not only lost its isolation; it has simultaneously also acquired a competitor and rival.

Further, the Soviet bureaucracy cannot, in face of world imperialism's continuing pressure and threat, use military means (even if they were feasible) to liquidate such rivalry. It can therefore only adapt itself to the situation. For, even if the Soviet bureaucracy may seek to push Yugoslavia into imperialism's arms, it dare not risk losing the alliance with China. **To that extent, the Soviet bureaucracy has ceased to be the boss of world Stalinism. And this marks also an appreciable diminution of the Soviet bureaucracy's absolute power within the Soviet Union.**

THE SOVIET MASSES

The weakening of the bureaucracy is also the releasing of opportunity for the masses it oppresses. The breach in the Soviet Union's isolation must also lead to a breach in the psychology of the Soviet masses in the sense of sapping the disposition, born of capitalist encirclement, to acquiesce in the bureaucracy's usurpation of power. Meantime, the frictions of Stalinism and their projection internationally in the decisive form of state-relations must lead to the increasing exposure of its contradictions before the masses. This will erode Stalinism's grip on the labor movement. The true contemporary Marxist program, that of Trotskyism, will simultaneously come into its own.

Thus, the wheel is turning full circle. Bolshevism, which brought the Russian revolution to success and which Stalinism thought to have buried even while speaking in its name, is once more resurgent in the name of Trotskyism. Stalinism stands doomed. There has not only been, by reason of Yugoslavia, a real break in favor of Trotskyism for the first time since Stalinism came to dominance. There is more: In the historical perspective and on the stage of the world revolutionary movement, i.e., both within the Soviet Union and without, already the turn is to Trotskyism.

Role of The American Stalinists

By Joseph Keller

After 32 years of intense activity and with many favorable opportunities for growth, the American Communist Party today lacks any real mass influence. It is unable to rally any sizable forces outside its own ranks in opposition to war despite the wide-spread anti-war sentiment and the unpopularity of Truman's "police action" in Korea. Few outside elements have come to the defense of its civil rights against the witch-hunt.

Stalinism has been able to build mass parties in a number of European countries, for instance, where its betrayals have not been so apparent to the workers, because its parties emerged only recently from many years of illegality and underground activity and the younger generation, in particular, had had no direct experience with Stalinism.

IN LIGHT OF DAY

In America, however, the Stalinists have had to function more in the open. Under conditions of relative democracy, they have had to demonstrate their program and methods over many years in the light of day. American workers have had an especially favorable opportunity to observe Stalinism in action for a long time, to experience its methods in the unions and mass organizations and to follow its political gyrations at close hand.

In consequence, Stalinism is detested by the overwhelming majority of workers who have had contact with it. And over the past two decades millions of workers have come within its influence, only to be repelled by it.

MAIN LESSON

The main lesson these workers have absorbed as a result of their personal experience with Stalinism is that the Communist Party is nothing but an agency to promote the foreign policy and interests of the ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union; that it uses the labor movement only as a means of exerting pressure on the American capitalist government in order to advance **Stalin's current international** maneuvers; that it sells out the workers' interests when this promises to pay off in the form of better relations between Moscow and Washington.

Thus, from 1935 to 1946, the Stalinists were the most unabashed and blatant supporters of the Democratic administration and its war preparations and imperialist war — except for the brief period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. They played hand-in-glove with the conservative union bureaucrats, even excelling them in brutal suppression of democratic rights of the union ranks.

Their notorious record of open strikebreaking and support of such measures as "incentive" pay, labor conscription and wage-freezing during the last war and their excesses and abuses of bureaucratic power in unions under their control left them without any effective support in the ranks. When the Trumanite union leaders turned on the Stalinists, they were easy prey. Their influence faded away and they were cut to pieces.

Popular Frontism was and remains the essence of Stalinist politics. Their answer to the questions of war, exploitation and all the other evils of capitalism is an alliance between the "progressive" capitalists (those that favor a deal between the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and American imperialism) and the organizations of the working class, particularly the Communist Party.

They have fought every manifestation of genuine independent labor political action and every attempt to establish a class party of labor. Their great "peace" champion — until the U.S. invasion of Korea — was the millionaire former Vice President Henry Wallace and his capitalist Progressive Party. With the desertion of Wallace and his associates to the pro-war camp, the Stalinists have been left to seek capitalist allies among any petty politicians and pacifist liberals they can find. And these are few.

Their "peace" program consists not in class struggle and revolutionary action for socialism, but in attempts to mobilize pressure to influence the actions of the imperialist-dominated UN and in paper campaigns to "outlaw the atom bomb." Their big pitch now is the formation of a "great movement for a national peace ticket in 1952." They do not say whose "peace ticket." A labor party ticket, perhaps? No. As S. W. Gerson puts it in the Jan. 15 **Daily Worker**, a ticket given **"form and direction"** through "a variety of channels — third party movements, PAC and the AFL League of Political Education, union and neighborhood legislative committees." On the kind of party needed, there is a telltale silence.

WORLD ANTI-WAR PRESSURE FORCES "PEACE" MANEUVERS

(Continued from Page 1)

pressure of their own peoples who are bitterly hostile to U.S. intervention in Korea or anywhere else in Asia. This fact was demonstrated by the British Commonwealth Conference of Prime Ministers which initiated the UN cease-fire move.

It is the temper of the 350 million people of India, as well as the tremendous revolutionary power unleashed in China, that India's Prime Minister Nehru had in mind when he told the Commonwealth Conference that the time was long past when "threats" could prevail against the Asians, who are "no longer prepared to tolerate any domination, or threat of domination." He added that while he sometimes "regretted" actions of the new Chinese government, it is "neither right nor practical to ignore the feelings of hundreds of millions of people." And, he stressed, "it is no longer safe to do so."

A GREAT NEW POWER

Subsequently he stated that "while the nations have been discussing the entry of the people's government of China into the UN something much bigger has been recognized — and that is that the New China is a great power to be dealt with on terms of equality by other great powers." And he scoffed at the fiction, maintained by the U.S. imperialists, that this new great power is a mere tool and puppet of the Kremlin.

Washington has seized on Peiping's rejection of its maneuver as a pretext for renewing pressure on the UN to adopt a "get-tough" policy which can lead only to extension of the war in the Far East and finally to world war.

But the U.S. is not at all assured of having its way. Even in the UN, where up to now it has been able to manipulate the other nations to its will, the U.S. confronts stubborn resistance.

The great danger is that this spontaneous sentiment, if it remains unorganized, will be dissipated. If the people continue to leave the question of war and peace to the UN, dominated by the imperialist and Stalinist power-politicians, their hopes for peace will be betrayed. They can stop the Korean war and drive to world war only as an independent organized force, taking into their own hands the decisions on which humanity's fate rests.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Last week's story in **The Militant** about the huge protest meeting over the police murder of John Derrick, a Negro veteran, was well received in New York's Negro community. Members of the Militant Army sold 425 copies in Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant area.

On reading the article about Derrick, customers time and again asked if **The Militant** would be sold next week at the same place or if they could get it at their neighborhood newsstands.

Literature Agent **Cathy D.** reports that **George Rock** sold 40 copies in less than half an hour. Other high-scorers were **Ben** and **Yvonne** of the **Youth**, 25 each, and **Inez**, 24; **Frank M.** of **Brooklyn**, 21; **Johnny Andrews** of **Harlem**, 20; and **John Rogers** of the **Youth**, 19.

This gratifying response to **The Militant's** handling of the Derrick case is an indication, in Cathy's opinion, of the deep resentment among Negro New Yorkers over the police brutality that has continued under the new regime of Mayor Impellitteri.

First result of a discussion among **Minneapolis** members of the Militant Army on ways and means of increasing circulation was an order to double their bundle. "With the political climate favorable to us it is up to all of us to start to do something about it," Literature Agent **P. S.** believes, "We have to get our paper out to as many workers as possible, acquaint them with our program, and show the workers that we have the only solution to the problems that confront us."

By way of warming up while waiting for the increased bundle, four comrades went out Sunday on neighborhood calls with the pamphlet, **The Socialist Workers Party, What It Is and What It Stands For.** They sold 28 copies and a copy of **Fourth International**, the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism.

The **St. Paul** contingent are not sitting on their hands either. Sunday, **Jean, Bill B., Bill K., Dave, O. S., Paul** and **Winifred Nelson** went out for an hour and a half and sold 12 copies of **The Militant**, four copies of **Fourth International**, three copies of the pamphlet **Welfare State or Socialism?** and five subscriptions to **The Militant.** In the Negro community, writes **Winifred**, "We had a very favorable reception and very few turn-downs. One woman said to me, 'Well, I certainly am glad to see this paper again.'"

The St. Paul sub-getters were shocked to learn that **A. Ragland** died recently. Owner of a barber shop, he took a trial subscription to **The Militant** seven years ago and thereupon became a steady reader of America's leading Socialist weekly.

Jane Sebastian, reporting for **San Francisco**, writes that two comrades sold 12 copies of **The Militant** in the Negro district near headquarters and six copies in The Mission, a white working class district, in about an hour. "Street sales are going to be continued."

"We are starting to get literature work under way," **Dorothy B.** of **Newark** reports. "One of our three teams got started this week and sold 10 **Militants** at the AFL Labor Lyceum. **Jack W.** sold 4 copies of the **FI** to friends he called on."

"The **Chicago** branch of the Socialist Workers Party warmed up for its election campaign by selling 67 **Militants** at a Stalinist 'peace' rally," writes Literature Agent **Manny Stone.** On the campus **The Militant** is making many friends. "**Marj**, our star at selling, is becoming well known through her consistent sales."

Boston asked for another bundle increase this week. "Comrade **Patch** is doing an excellent job in selling most of these papers; she has a regular route and sells quite a few weekly," Literature Agent **Rena Breshi** reports.

Howard Mason of Detroit says that "the holidays put the kibosh on distributions but there's one light that shined through the Xmas season. **Bill** sold 17 copies of **The Militant** to friends and on the street corner, plugging in particular the article on the Gordy case."

According to Literature Agent **N. V.** of **New Haven**, Conn., "talks to acquaintances, overheard bus conversations, etc., show discontent." The New Haven members of the Militant Army have decided therefore that now is a good time "to hit them again" for subscriptions to **The Militant**, and they're "hoping to send a great many more subs soon."

Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for **The Militant** is the Tuesday before the date of publication.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MAdison 3-990.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington St., Rm 312-314. Phone Dearborn 2-4767.

CLEVELAND—Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.). every Sun., 9 P.M.

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6267.

FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street. Phone 22496.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Ass'n. Rm 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7781.

NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue.

NEW YORK CITY—Hq.: 116 University Place. Phone: AL 5-7852.

BROOKLYN — De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave., near Loew's Pitkin. Meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M.

HARLEM—103 W. 110th St. Rm 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information write P.O. Box 1953, or call TEmplebar 2-3738.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.

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SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Avenue, 4th fl. Open daily except Sun., 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-0410.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., So. and Washington. Rm 201. Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 9278.

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. Those are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XV — No. 4 Monday, January 22, 1951

TROTSKY

Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin

"Whenever we want to give a concise answer to the question: who is Marx? we say: 'Marx. . . . is the author of Capital.' And when we ask ourselves — who is Lenin? we say: 'Lenin is the author of the October Revolution.' Lenin, more than anyone else, was emphatic in saying that he did not intend to revise, remodel or alter the teachings of Marx. Lenin came, to use the words of the Bible, not to change the law of Marx but to fulfil it."

— Leon Trotsky, Prospects and Tasks in the East. 1924.

LENIN

Who Are the Guilty?

There are times when history makes a very abrupt turn, upsetting all the previous calculations of the capitalist rulers. Such critical times put to the test all their prominent figures, parties, programs as well as the government itself. Our country passed through an experience like this in the early Thirties when the Great Depression erupted. The Korean disaster now marks another such turn.

Every influential politician now seeks a convenient scapegoat on whom to pin the guilt. Taft accuses Truman of "usurping power"; of imperiling "the basic liberties of the people of this country" and of dragging the people on the road to "set up a dictator in the U.S." Taft here, for his own partisan reasons, tells the bitter truth.

In turn, Truman accuses Taft of going along cheerfully on Korea; rubber-stamping everyone of the dictatorial measur the White House requested; and now demagogically seeking to make political capital out of the crisis, with eyes on the 1952 Presidential elections. On this rare occasion Harry (Third-Term) Truman speaks the truth, too. For his main interest likewise lies in holding on to the Presidency.

Both say our people were never in such danger. This is so. But both of them lie when they ask the American people to locate the source of this danger in Asia or Europe. The fact is that the gravest danger is right here at home and comes from the capitalists and their politicians.

It is Truman as well as Taft, Congress as well as the Pentagon, Democrats and Republicans alike, who bear the full responsibility for the Korean "police-action"; for the Presidential usurpation of Constitutional powers; for the conspiracy to destroy our civil liberties, paving the way for the police state measures; and for bringing our country and the world so dangerously close to all-out war.

The peril facing the American people is the handiwork of these arrogant men of selfish interests. It is becoming clearer and clearer that Washington — from Taft through Hoover down to Truman — has proved itself fumbling, bankrupt and deceitful.

What the Democrats and Republicans are primarily concerned with is not "national defense" or "national survival" but with saving and defending the interests of imperialism. And with saving face, clambering up the ladder of federal offices and patronage, coining privileges and profits — at the people's expense.

All this clashes head on with the interests of the American people.

The guilty ones today sit in Congress, in the White House, in the Pentagon, everywhere in the seats of power. They are guilty of betraying the American people. We Trotskyists indict them of this betrayal today. And that is how they will ultimately be indicted at the bar of history when the aroused American workers, working farmers, Negroes and other minorities pass final judgement upon them.

Imperialist Precedents

The halls of Congress are resounding with historical "precedents" concerning the rights of the President as against the constitutional prerogatives of the House and the Senate. So is the press. Politicians, professors and journalists vie with one another citing precedents. **Time** magazine has dug up 135; Sen. Connally has filed a claim for "100 occasions;" Columbia's Prof. Commager rests with a vague generality: "One Administration after another."

Involved here is the issue of who has the right to declare war. Truman claims he has; Taft says Congress (read: Taft) must do it. Both sides in the dispute deliberately disregard the people, whose delegated representatives they are supposed to be, but whom they never consult on any vital issue.

And what are these so-called "precedents" that are now being painted up as decisive in the settlement of the fateful issue of war or peace? Virtually without exception, these represent brazen usurpation of power by the most reactionary occupants of the White House. By John Adams (chief promoter of the infamous Alien and Sedition Laws); by Polk (who usurped power to attack Mexico); by McKinley (who sent U.S. troops to crush the Boxer Rebellion in China in concert with the European imperialists); by Theodore Roosevelt (who raped the little Republic of Colombia to seize the Panama Canal); Wilson (who set up an American protectorate over Nicaragua with U.S. marines), and so forth.

In a word, all the acts of aggression, especially against Latin American countries, which have made the Dollar Imperialists so hated in our hemisphere are now being offered in the name of "the defense of democracy." This reminds us of a murderer who demanded immunity on the ground that he had, after all, used the same knife in several previous murders and got away scot-free.

Truman Junks Civil Rights Promises

Truman's "State of the Union" speech demonstrated that civil rights are the first home-front casualty of the war preparations program. In his long speech telling Congress what legislation he wanted, Truman did not mention civil rights for Negroes and other oppressed minorities, FEPC, or repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

In the 1948 election campaign these were Truman's main promises and vote-getters. In subsequent "State of the Union" speeches Truman at least verbally carried through the indecent farce of his "Fair Deal" program by calling for the passage of civil rights bills and repeal of T-H. Of course, after calling for these bills he never lifted a finger to force their passage. But the liberals and labor bureaucrats were satisfied with lip-service and demanded no more of him.

Now, however, Truman doesn't feel obliged even to call for such legislation. The "national emergency" gives him and his administration the chance for open solidarity with the anti-Negro, anti-labor reactionaries. Truman, no doubt, feels more comfortable now. Phrases, however mild, in favor of the rights of organized labor and of the Negro people never tasted sweet to his lips. He wore the disguise of a "friend" of labor and of the Negro people with obvious ill grace. As Dixiecrat Representative Hebert of Louisiana said after the speech: "He's joined the Southern Democrats!"

And while Truman publicly buries his "Fair Deal" program of Civil Rights how fare these rights in the U.S. today?

The answer is they are at their lowest point in the history of this country. Without looking, put your finger on the map of the U.S. There, as in every other state or town or city, civil rights are being violated. Negroes are not allowed to vote or to get equal education; they are being discriminated against in making their livings. In many places they are being beaten or lynched or their homes are being bombed. If they are in the army they are being jim-crowed. Wherever working men have unions in this country their rights to force better conditions and wages from the bosses are hampered by T-H.

The illegally imposed "subversive" list is the basis for the crassly unconstitutional persecution of the International Workers Order in New York at present. This fraternal insurance organization has just been prohibited from holding its national convention.

Truman looks at the country and makes a report in terms of cannon fodder, planes, tanks and atom bombs. The workers and the Negro people look at the country and see persecution, discrimination and deprivations of liberty.

27 Years After Lenin: Leninism Lives On

By Murry Weiss

Lenin's central idea is that modern society is divided into two basic classes, workers and capitalists: These classes are in irreconcilable struggle; the only progressive conclusion of that struggle is workers' power; this power of the workers must reorganize production and all social and economic relations; this workers' power, based on workers' democracy, must acquire an international scope in order to lay the basis for socialism.

These propositions were the basis of Lenin's thought and action throughout his political life. This was the revolutionary essence which he fought to imbue in the party of the working class.

ORTHODOX MARXISM

Such ideas were not "new" even in Lenin's time, even in backward Czarist Russia. Lenin always considered himself an orthodox Marxist; by that he did not mean verbal orthodoxy (the basest traitors to socialism were avid "quoters" of Marx's words and Lenin never tired in his struggle against them for treachery in deeds).

For Lenin, scientific socialism meant carrying the tested Marxist principles of theory to their practical conclusions. For the "socialist" right-wingers and centrists, the principles of Marxism were good for ceremonial editorials and Sunday speeches, but carrying them into practice during times of crisis — ah, there was another matter. For them, revolutionary principles lose their charm as soon as they have to be applied.

Lenin's power as revolutionary theorist and world proletarian leader consisted in developing Marxist theory and practice for the Twentieth Century.

LENIN'S GREAT WORK

His work, together with Trotsky's on the permanent revolution, on the national and colonial questions, on the agrarian question, on the nature of monopoly capitalist imperialism; on the nature and role of the party, on the nature and role of the state, and the road to socialism, on the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, and on the problems of an isolated workers state in its struggle against encirclement and degeneration — all this work forms the basis for all scientific thought on the phenomena of capitalism in its death agony.

Lenin defined the salient features of our times in his marvelously succinct formula: "Ours is the epoch of imperialist wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings."

In the last 35 years the world has passed through two imperialist world wars, a global economic crisis, and the sweep of fascism over the continent of Europe.

But it has also experienced the opposite of these consequences of capitalist decay in such events as: the socialist revolution of the Russian working class led by Lenin and Trotsky in 1917, the eruption of proletarian revolution in Europe after the First World War, the awakening of a billion colonial slaves to revolutionary consciousness and activity, and the organization of the American mass production workers into the CIO.

These events prove that this is indeed the epoch of imperialist wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings. After the Second World War the capitalist system received another rapid series of blows from the toilers of factory and farm, that has sent it reeling and very close to a knockdown. In one country, Yugoslavia, the capitalists were completely knocked out by a successful workers' revolution.

The postwar revolutionary wave in Western Europe very nearly finished the enfeebled capitalist system on the old continent. Only the efforts of the Stalinist bureaucracy coupled with those of "socialist" and Laborite leaderships gave European capitalism another brief extension on life.

No sooner had the postwar capitalist world recovered from its narrow escapes than its revolutionary nemesis rose out of the "lower depths" of our planet. The revolutionary process ricocheted from the 1917 Russian Revolution to Asia, and the Third Chinese Revolution in the last half century began revealing its mighty force.

Here we see the deep realism of Lenin's world outlook. Imagine the state of mind of the superbillionaires. Since 1917 they have been driven by the inexorable laws of the capitalist economic system to try to reconquer the one-sixth of the earth's surface taken by the Russian socialist revolution. China was still earmarked as a Wall Street preserve. Europe was being smothered in the brutal embrace of the dollar. U.S. capitalism, so it felt, had inherited the earth and was impatient to cash in on this inheritance.

RIVAL CAPITALIST NATIONS

Following World War I the deep contradictions in capitalism prevented the real imperialist aim from being realized — a unified bloc of capitalist nations in war against the Soviet Union. The defeated German capitalists, assigned the role of spearhead against the Soviet Union, fashioned their own ghastly dream of a thousand years of fascism.

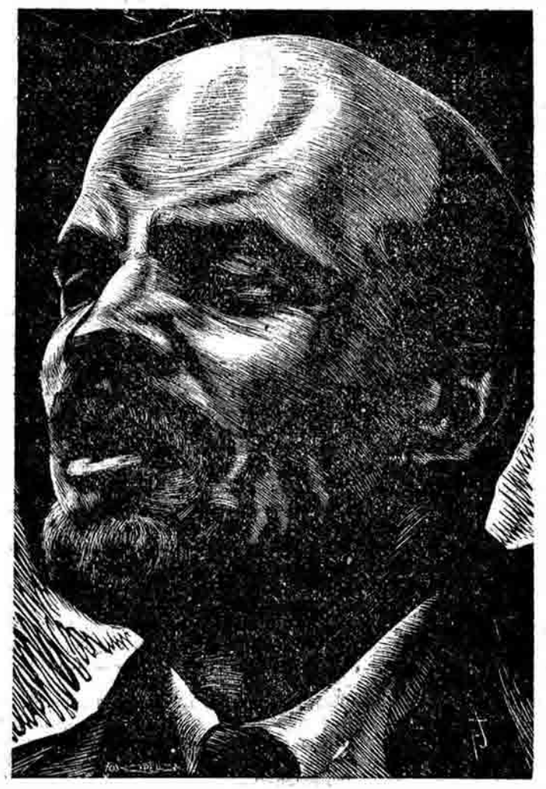
The Japanese imperialists enlarged their horizons and their voracious appetite for expansion, even though their industrial apparatus for swallowing and digesting conquests remained feeble.

Thus the war came to be fought among the rival imperialist powers. And today, what a change in the relationship of forces!

RESULTS OF WORLD WAR II

For, in the process of World War II, China tore loose! And with China, the whole colonial world is in revolutionary upheaval against the imperialist plutocracy. No wonder, imperial dreams are turning into nightmares and the pallor of inner decay and indecision is to be seen on the face of our own ruling class.

Lenin's formula of "imperialist wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings" contains a logic of its own. Imperialist wars for colonial outlets for capital investment, for raw materials and markets—that's the characteristic of the capitalist system in senile decay. Colonial uprising growing out of global wars — that's the new world being born. Proletarian revolutions — that's the active method by which all anti-imperialist movements of the toilers achieve their goal in this epoch.



V. I. LENIN

To accomplish these revolutions mankind must forge a giant link in the chain of history. Lenin's most important contribution to the solution of the modern crisis of humanity is his theory of the proletarian revolutionary party. He evolved and applied his views in the October Revolution. They then became the basis of the Third International.

The Leninist theory of the party is now part of the arsenal of the world working class. Today in Asia, as in Europe and the Americas, the Leninist party has to be built as the supremely conscious and decisive factor for the victory of the working class.

AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

"And what of your conception of the epoch as it applies to America?" A sneer accompanies this question from the smug, overfed labor bureaucrat of the U.S., the kind who "used to be" a Marxist. Let this bureaucrat remember that he subsists as a member of a caste, and fattens at the expense of the colonial peoples — more than half the world's population, not to mention the scores of millions of proletarians in the capitalist centers. Herein lies the main clue to the answer to such a question.

The privileges of the labor bureaucracy of the U.S., and the privileged standard of living the American workers wrested from capitalism in struggle, cannot be understood except in the context of the whole world process. All these privileges rest on the supremacy of Wall Street imperialism over the exploited peoples in both hemispheres.

But this in its turn, rests upon the willingness of the world to submit. There is no submissiveness in the attitude or actions of the Asian, African, South American and European toilers. They have risen from their knees and Wall Street is sliding off their backs.

American capitalists, cornered and panic-stricken, are baring their sharp claws and slashing at the American workers. But here, too, they will meet their match!

AMERICAN FORCES OF REVOLUTION

The American worker has never forgotten how he beat the corporations in the struggles of the Thirties. He hates the industrial and financial moguls with a deep and abiding hatred. The American working farmer will be his ready ally — for the farmer thinks of the corporation as a condemned man thinks of rope. The American youth despise the militaristic-imperialistic clique who would drown the world in blood. The Negro people constitute a deep-rooted revolutionary force in factories and farms.

The labor apologists for capitalism shall wipe the sneers off their faces.

Lenin was speaking of the American working class too, when he analyzed the forces at work in our epoch. Today we can add to what Lenin said. It is precisely in this powerful and last stronghold of capitalism that the greatest blows for freedom will be struck.

The decisive battle between capital and labor will take place here in the U.S. And part of that battle will be to lift the labor bureaucrat off the worker's back and continue the great work that made the letters CIO the indelible symbol of militancy, audacity and hope.

THE STALINIST BOGEY

"But what of Russia and Stalinism?" the bureaucrat will ask. "Mustn't we defend the workers of Europe against Stalinism? Do you want to live under Stalinism? Don't you know" — and here the sneer combines with a triumphant leer—"that you Trotskyists and all revolutionists would be the first to be shot by the Stalinists? Doesn't your Leninist conception of the epoch give way to the primary task of stopping Stalinism?"

Here we have the central piece of straw on which the psychological equilibrium of the bureaucrat hangs. In the name of this hollow prop he feels free to commit every crime against the labor movement.

But who made the secret treaties with Stalin that destroyed the revolution in Spain? Who used Stalin to derail the European revolution after World War II? Who would make a deal with Stalinism today if only it could crush the Asian revolt, if not the labor bureaucrat's master, American imperialism?

The Kremlin and its agencies, the leaderships of the Communist parties throughout the world — these will be the first victims of the victorious liberating struggles of the working class. In their fear and deceit, the bureaucrats depict Stalinism as an all-powerful wave of the future.

STALINISM WILL GO

Not at all — Stalinism (like all labor bureaucracies) is another privileged crust on the working class. The movement of the class will cause this crust to crack into a thousand pieces. As Lenin said to the skeptics and fainthearts, "Live a little and you will see."

All the anti-Leninist revisionist theories on our epoch have one common denominator: a barren distrust of the proletariat. Those who hold these views can see our epoch only through the eyes of frightened petty-bourgeois philistines. The outward material power — that's all they see. They make a deep bow to everything that appears powerful, whether it be Stalinism, fascism or the Wall Street oligarchy. These chicken-hearted pretentious theorists assume the attitude either of humility and adoration, or frenzied despair, according to which power they are nearest or the current mood that has seized them.

THE ROLE OF THE TOILERS

"What?" they ask themselves. "Ragged peasants, led by workers with calloused hands — will these dumb beasts of burden really build a new world? Impossible!"

Yes, ours is the epoch of the women and men of toil. They and they alone can save humanity. And the American working men and women will play a central role in this world-historic drama. Lenin's summons — "Have the courage to build a new party and all the oppressed will come to you" — will acquire a new and deeper meaning in our own land. American workers will build their new party — they will break forever with the bureaucrats who chain them to capitalist political machines, and as they do they will learn to know Lenin, the revolutionary teacher and leader of the world working class.

COMMONWEALTH NATIONS REVEAL ANTI-U.S. SHIFT

By Charles Hanley

On Jan. 4 a ten-day conference of British Commonwealth Prime Ministers began in London. The conference showed that the British government and those of the Dominions are concerned about the war danger and the situation in the Far East. They are not for a new world war which would probably mean anti-bourgeois mass upsurges in India, the loss of Hong Kong and perhaps Malaya, and a serious impoverishment of Great Britain herself.

Britain and Indian spokesmen therefore wanted the Commonwealth nations to agree on a policy of normal diplomatic relations with China counterposed to the U.S. memorandum in the U.N. which proposes economic and political sanctions against the Mao government.

AGAINST WORLD CONFLICT

The Commonwealth countries now try to bring about peace negotiations between the U.S. and China, and to prevent the Korean war from becoming the starting point of a new world conflict.

In a joint declaration Jan. 12 the nine Commonwealth Prime Ministers announced that they would "welcome any feasible arrangement for a frank exchange of views" with Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. They pointed out that such talks between the great powers are a necessity "if real peace is to come." They also asked for speedy peace settlements with Germany and Japan.

Although those Commonwealth countries which have not formally recognized revolutionary China did not offer any formal agreement to do so, they agreed to call for the Chinese participation in talks about a Japanese peace treaty and for talks between Washington and Peking. This practically amounts to an acceptance of the rights of the Mao government.

CANADA TURNS FROM U.S.

Thus, Australia and Canada, which for several years had been closer to the Washington State Department than to the London Foreign Office, now turn to the other Commonwealth nations because they begin to fear Washington's interventionist line.

Nevertheless the Prime Ministers' declaration contains an assurance to the U.S. that they are against "appeasement," that they would always seek to "arrive at common international policies with the U.S." and that they would continue their defense effort.

The native capitalist representatives of the Commonwealth countries thus seek to protect their vested interests against the consequences of all-out war, and still maintain their alliance with U.S. imperialism.

CENSORSHIP PREVENTS GIs FROM BEING HEARD

(Continued from Page 1)

of their soldiers in any adventure that may win the brass a bit more recognition and publicity. And facts are now coming out that this officer corps is reeking with corruption.

What but the rising resentment of the ranks toward the officers safely ensconced in the rear could have evoked the memorandum of Brig. Gen. Bryan L. Milburn, in charge of Headquarters and Service Command of general headquarters in Tokyo, about not permitting the command to be "a haven for gluttons and lounge addicts." The memorandum states, "I am very much concerned about the number of obese, obviously overweight and excessively corpulent personnel throughout the command" and calls for "corrective action."

AMERICAN TROOPS SHOCKED

Not only their experience in actual combat under these officers, but all the conditions that have surrounded the U.S. intervention undoubtedly have shocked the troops. One of them wrote a letter which Rep. Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, read in Congress, disclosing the fact that U.S. supplies are being sold at fantastic prices on the Korean black market. "So help me God," writes this young soldier, "I've never seen anything so rotten. I've never been so disillusioned and disgusted in my whole life."

But the Big Brass is concerned only with covering up its ineptitude and corruption, with trying to retrieve its prestige and reputation. It is recklessly sacrificing more thousands of American youth in a "holding" retreat — beg pardon, "planned withdrawal" — down the whole length of the Korean peninsula that has no rational purpose except to "inflict as heavy losses on the enemy as possible." But how about the American losses?

Last week, U.S. Chief of Staff J. Lawton Collins, arrived in Tokyo to try to take the situation in hand from blundering, blustering MacArthur, said that "as of now, we'll stay and fight."

No doubt, they are willing to "expend" more GIs to protect the high command's reputation against the "disgrace" of being driven out of Korea by a revolutionary army of Asian peasants and workers. No doubt they are not anxious to have American troops come back and tell the true story of what has happened in Korea. But if the mouths of the GIs are gagged, that is all the more reason why the people at home must speak up to demand the withdrawal of the troops and to save the lives of the American boys facing the risk of complete disaster.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV — MONDAY, JANUARY 22, 1951 — NUMBER 4

Success Story

By Theodore Kovalesky

We weren't very surprised to see the new sign. Some laughed a little. All of us smiled. But most of us knew that this was how things must be, and we smiled in a friendly way.

It was black and gold, something like a doctor's or dentist's sign. It was very solid and dignified. The red and white striped cylinder still revolved in its glass casing, crying out in a clash of color that here you could get a haircut. But the dignity of hard-earned success showed up in the new sign, "SIGNOR RUGGIERO ANTONINI, HIGH CLASS HAIRCUTS."

Yes, that's his name, Ruggiero Antonini, now Signor Antonini; but as long as he's had the little shop on Ames St. (and that's as long as many of us can remember) we've called him "Paisan." When they need a haircut men say, "Either I got to get a fiddle, or I'll have to go see Paisan." Or you hear them say, "Hey, I ran into old Scotty over to Paisan's the other day." But now maybe we ought to drop that name. "Signor Antonini" might be much better.

Signor Antonini came to this country many, many years ago, long before he became Signor Antonini, back in the days when he was merely, "Hey, you!" or "Hey, Tony!" Or just plain "wop." He was a young man with the short, thick, brown body of an Italian ploughman. He was friendly; he was poor; he was ambitious. Maria and his two little ones were still at Montalbano, but he would send for them soon when he got rich. Meanwhile he'd get a priest or some other educated man to write letters to them, telling them, "Wait patiently for a little while until I make my fortune. Then I will return to Montalbano as a big man, a man of importance, and I will bring you to America. We will have a fine house and a new American automobile. I long to see you, my dear wife, and our little ones." And he would take a pencil in his thick brown ploughman's fingers and make a mark where it said, "Your husband, Ruggiero Antonini."

If I retold the story of the years that followed, you would perhaps yawn and turn away, for you have heard it often. Too many times already you have read and heard of the man — of the legion of men who left their wives and children waiting, who struggled and grew tired, who fought and lost, who pined and yearned. . . and finally forgot. That was Paisan's story too.

Somehow he gathered together the fragments of his first shattered dream and looked about with clearer eyes. He saw the need for education and went to barber's college. Somehow he scraped and saved until he could buy his own little shop on Ames St. with a second hand barber's chair and a new barber pole that rotated with red and white stripes continually descending. Now he wrote his own letters, " . . .a little time more, and I will come. . . " and he signed "Ruggiero Antonini" in big, round characters. But he wrote less often, and the replies in the handwriting of the Montalbano priest came less frequently; and when he stopped writing altogether, the replies stopped too. The depression had come. His savings fell away, so what was there to write about anyway? Should he still say "a little time more," when he knew that time must begin all over again? Better say nothing.

So he kept living and cutting the hair of men and children and sometimes women. He kept going to bed alone at night in the clean little room behind the shop. No longer did he look through the darkness to Montalbano and sigh in his bed. He just went to sleep and, as time passed, forgot even to dream.

Through the years we used to see him and greet him, good old Paisan, as he sat on a wooden chair in the doorway waiting for customers, waving a friendly hand to all who passed. But one day last summer as we walked by his shop we didn't see the chair. Where was Paisan?

Through the years we used to see him and sound of a hand lightly touching an automobile horn, and there he was, no longer little Paisan, but Ruggiero Antonini, a man of importance, a big man, sitting inside a beautiful new car parked in front of the barber shop, smiling benignly and with dignity, waving his hand in courteous greeting.

The long struggle for success was done. Paisan was dead, and in his place smiled Signor Ruggiero Antonini, the self-made businessman, the owner of a new American automobile. What then of Maria and the little ones? Who knows? Time passes, signori, and you cannot live in the past And after all, he had tried, he had tried very hard.

So good rest to little Paisan, and long live Signor Ruggiero Antonini! Good rest, too, to the dead dreams and troubled hopes of yesterday Let not their memory haunt and mar this success story.

Perhaps now even the old red and white barber pole will go. It isn't really necessary with the new sign, and it detracts from the conservative good taste of Signor Antonini's establishment.

Robbery in Phone Booth!

By Milton Matthews

The "21 little children" of the world's largest corporation, American Telephone and Telegraph, are celebrating the end of a successful campaign which finds them $400,000,000 richer then they were at the conclusion of World War II. The "21" are the local telephone companies that were granted a series of rate increases culminating last week in the destruction of a 60-year-old cornerstone of American life, the five-cent phone call.

We are taught in our schools that public utilities are monopolies beneficial to the public welfare, whose activities are closely supervised by state laws and regulations. Put this one at the top of the list of "lies my teacher taught me."

AT&T owns 99% of the telephones in this country, the company that makes them, large areas of the earth where the raw materials are mined and the ships that bring them here. This octopus starves the life out of many thousands of colonial slaves and criminally underpays half a million American phone workers. In its annual report of Aug. 31, 1950, the company showed that net earnings for each share of stock were $11.98— the highest point in 20 years. AT&T pays a constant annual dividend of $9.00 per share which means an ever-rising surplus, from $325,399,502 in 1947 to $340,087,915 in 1949.

We find that the New York Telephone Co., which annually pays dividends of $8 per share to AT&T, petitioned for rate increases because its own earnings fell to a "dangerous" $7.18 in 1948 and $6.16 in 1949. It claimed it was in the "red" because it had to dip into its surplus' to meet its payments to AT&T.

As though this wasn't enough, the PSC in New York showed criminal neglect by not considering the Sept. 30 1950 report of the local company. The firm showed an annual net income of $42,451,510 — an increase of $17,149,609 over 1949. Net earnings per share rose to $8.14 so that New York Tel. could pay off AT&T and still have a surplus of $747,510. The reason for this profitable showing was the effect of the increase awarded to the firm on June 9, 1949, a hike of $26 million on home and business rates. On the basis of this report, even using the distorted bookkeeping set-up of the company, the 100% coin box rate increase was unwarranted. As usual in our decaying society, the hardest hit are the poor who cannot afford home or business phones.

Thievery runs through the entire telephone industry. Follow this. Telephone prices are set by the PSC on the basis of a local company's rate base which in turn is predicated on the original cost of its plant and equipment. All plant and equipment is purchased from Western Electric, owned by AT&T of course. Western Electric charges high monopoly prices, the profit going to AT&T.

In carrying through their steal, the New York firm had full cooperation of the GOP machine in the state. It was reported without denial during the last elections that the man who demanded and pushed through the re-nomination of Dewey was Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of Chase National Bank and a director of AT&T. "Fighting" for the public interest and head of the state PSC was Benjamin Feinberg. Feinberg happens to be an old Dewey stalwart, formerly GOP majority leader in the New York State Senate. No one need be overly clever to realize that a political payoff by Dewey to Aldrich and AT&T has just occurred.

Page from Greek History

By Tom Conlan

Now that history has seized the U.S. superbillionaires by the throat, their wiser men are trying to think in historical terms, seeking from past experiences not alone to avoid future pitfalls but also to find avenues of escape from present dangers. General of the Army Marshall has offered his colleagues "the period of the Peloponnesian War and the fall of Athens" as the clue to the world situation today. Marshall's suggestion has been picked up widely — from the Vatican-inspired magazine Life to the demoralized "liberal" periodicals like New Republic.

There is much to be learned from the pages of history, including those of Greece. And the American workers ought not to overlook this. But it is not enough to think historically. One must never forget the standpoint from which such thinking is done. The capitalists always think of the present as well as the future and therefore also of the past from their own class standpoint. So, too, should the workers.

Life, followed by New Republic, uncovers the following parallels in Greek history: "spiritual retreat," "inconstancy," "irresponsibility," "arrogance" and "recklessness." In this there is a grain of truth. What the capitalists are now really discerning are not the "weaknesses" which may well be charged against the Athenians but rather their own failings which they are unloading on the ancients. Not the Athenians, who are not to be confused with the mortal enemies of culture, but the reigning capitalist rulers are truly spiritual bankrupts, inconstant, irresponsible, arrogant and reckless. And in this sense, President Truman is quite an exact social symbol of U.S. imperialism.

Greece, including Athens and Sparta, was never more than a petty slave empire, incomparable both in size and power, with such ancient colossi as Persia, Carthage or Rome — all of them despotic. Athens was more of a "city-state" than Sparta. The first was a slave mercantile community; the second was based on slave agriculture, the most reactionary and backward in all of ancient Greece. When sinister figures like Gov. Dewey propose to "Spartanize" America, it is important for the workers to bear this in mind.

Sparta started and remained a military dictatorship, ruled by one or two generals ("kings") or by their stand-by's (the Euphori) who periodically usurped the military (or "kingly") power and ruled just as despotically. Wherever the Spartans conquered they imposed oligarchical rule (Councils of Ten) under the thumb of a Spartan General (much as MacArthur now rules in Japan).

Athens, on the contrary, began her rise to power and progress by abolishing the rule of the generals and installing the first democracy on record in class society. Athens' rise and fall parallels the birth and death of this highly progressive development in the slave era. But it is precisely this important lesson that all the Marshalls would so much like to erase from mankind's memory.

All the more so because of the true circumstances surrounding the downfall of Athenian democracy. It was not, as commonly taught, the conquering Spartan militarist Lysander who destroyed democracy in Athens by imposing an oligarchical rule (Council of Thirty) there (Thucydides, Book VIII). Athenian democracy fell earlier as a consequence of the attempt by Athens' rulers to conquer Sicily, suffering an unexpected defeat there, and leaving their country exposed to attack. For soon after the Sicilian debacle, the ruling class of Athens imposed the reign of 400, or an oligarchical tyranny at home.

And here is indeed a striking parallel that American workers should mull over. The mercantile slaveholders plunged into their Sicilian adventure as lightmindedly as the capitalist enslavers undertook their Korean adventure. The first casualty of the disaster in Sicily was the democracy in Athens. And what has been the first casualty of Korea, if not our cherished civil rights and democratic freedoms?

Briefing the Party Whips

Truman briefs Democratic leaders on his State of Union message to Congress calling for "much higher taxes." (L. to r.) Senate Majority Leader McFarland, (Ariz.), Senate Majority Whip Johnson (Tex.), House Majority Whip Priest (Tenn.), and House Majority Leader McCormack (Mass.).

COAST GUARD HOUNDS WEST COAST MILITANTS

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 13 — The government drive to destroy independent unionism among seamen and longshoremen of this country is being pushed on the West Coast against the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union and the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards. Both unions have been branded as "Communist controlled" organizations by government-inspired propaganda. Both were expelled last year from the national CIO by the Murray machine.

Latest moves against the two unions is the stepped-up pressure by the U.S. Coast Guard to enforce a blacklist in the industry.

THE PASS SYSTEM

Government screening is the most effective blacklist system yet devised to use against union militants. It is enforced through the issuance of special passes by the Navy Department. All longshoremen must apply for these passes. Those who do not get the passes cannot work. There is no specified time limit on the issuance of passes. A considerable section of the workers are not issued passes at all, and are thereby eliminated from the industry.

No reason is given for the government's refusal to issue a waterfront pass. In most instances workers are not even told that a pass has been denied them. In this manner an effective blacklist system is introduced which serves to circumvent the established practice of equal job rights through the union hiring halls.

This blacklist system was introduced last year and applied then only to army and navy docks. The government now proposes to extend it to commercial piers as well.

AFRAID OF OPPOSITION

Although hundreds have already been blacklisted, the Coast Guard has carefully avoided any announcement of these lists. The purpose of this method is to forestall as long as possible any popular opposition within the union to the system.

This blacklist system is the issue before delegates from all longshore locals on the coast, now locked in closed meetings in Longview, Washington, to decide policy for the ILWU. Early reports indicate that right-wing delegates are making a determined effort to reverse the union's previous stand to fight the government blacklist. But whatever the policy adopted at the Longview meeting, it is certain that an aroused membership will challenge the whole blacklist system when its full effects are felt.

This same blacklist system is being applied to seamen. The policy of the Marine Cooks and Stewards union in opposition to the whole scheme was made clear at a meeting in Washington, D.C., called on Jan. 4 by the Federal Maritime Administration. Representatives from all seafaring unions were present. The real purpose of the meeting was to win official union acquiescence in the government's union-busting program.

UNION PROGRAM

Hopes in this direction were blasted by Secretary - Treasurer Eddie Tangen of the MCS who presented a list of thirteen demands in the name of 5000 members of his union. These demands are:

"1. That maritime union hiring halls be legalized and exempted from Taft-Hartley bans.

"2. That union contract conditions prevail on all MSTS (military sea transportation service) ships, and that all shipping on these vessels be done through union hiring halls. That the manpower for all such ships be pooled in union hiring halls.

"3. That the Coast Guard get out of the maritime industry, and that the unions be allowed to deal directly with the National Shipping Authority without Coast Guard interference."

Such opposition as this by the cooks and longshoremen on the West Coast is the reason for the government's concerted drive against these two particular unions now.

Urges City Hall March In Murder of Negro Vet

On Dec. 7, John Derrick, a veteran, was killed in cold blood in Harlem by New York City cops. At a huge mass meeting of protest, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell called for a march on City Hall to demand redress and an end to police brutality. Gladys Barker, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Lieutenant Governor in the last N. Y. state elections, has addressed the following letter to Congressman Powell in support of his proposal:

Dear Congressman Powell:

I support with every fibre of my being, your call for a gathering of our forces at 110th St. and a march on City Hall, to demand punishment for the killer-cops who murdered and robbed John Derrick on Dec. 7, 1950.

Since your rallying call on Jan. 6 at Refuge Temple, Mayor Impellitteri has TRANSFERRED these cops "to an undisclosed command." Is this supposed to be a victory? Are you satisfied? Or do you feel as I do, — as if I had been dishonored?

HATRED OF KILLER-COPS

Harlem is aflame with hatred of killer-cops. Our people demand justice and freedom from fear. What innocent Negro will die next on our streets? Do you recall how a clergyman at Refuge Temple on Jan. 6 told the audience how his sons, also clergymen, had almost been shot by a cop that evening? Here he was on the platform with you at this huge Johnnie Derrick protest meeting, and but for a stroke of luck, he might have been mourning his own sons that night. It seems that this cop had some difficulty pulling his gun out of the holster, while he was accusing the churchmen of "casing" the jewelry store they happened to be standing near.

We are not safe on Harlem streets. Derrick was killed by these two patrolmen for absolutely no reason at all. Then, you recall, they are reported to have planted a gun on the cold body of this veteran who had just returned that day from a seven-year stretch in the army. Now, I am informed by friends in Harlem, the witnesses, who spoke so fearlessly at the protest meeting, are being "contacted" and intimidated.

STAY KILLERS HANDS

Yes, Congressman Powell, we want a march on City Hall to protect ourselves and our kin! Stay the hands of the killers! Demand of the Mayor, the Police Commissioner and the whole calloused administration, that Patrolmen Minakota and Palumba be brought to justice!

May I urge that you take the lead immediately and call a conference of all organizations in Harlem, for mobilization of the March. As an active member of the Socialist Workers Party, and the Lenox - 5th Ave. Tenants League, I pledge full and unconditional support to your proposal.

GLADYS BARKER

Detroit SWP to Treat War Crisis On TV Jan. 28

DETROIT, MICH., Howard Lerner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan in the 1950 election campaign, will appear on a TV program, Sunday evening, January 28, from 8 to 8:30 P.M.

The name of the program is "Press Conference" on WXYZ, TV channel 7. Brewster Campbell, Detroit "Free Press" City Editor, will act as the interrogator.

Lerner will have an opportunity to discuss the program of the SWP on key national and international questions. He will appear at this time in lieu of a pre-election program which saw both major capitalist party candidates, Williams and Kelly, appear prior to the election.

VICTORY FOR SWP

In winning the right to present its program to the people of Michigan over TV, the SWP scored a signal victory for the civil rights of minority parties.

The radio TV station had refused to grant Lerner the same opportunity as had been given the candidates of the major parties. It yielded only after the SWP carried its case to the Federal Communications Commission.

A similar victory was won in 1948 when Grace Carlson, SWP candidate for Vice President, spoke over a Detroit station. At that time, too, the Detroit branch of the SWP carried its fight to the F.C.C. in Washington, D.C. Lerner, however, will be the first SWP representative to appear on TV in Michigan.

Walter Reuther, president of the UAW - CIO, appeared on the same program on January 7. In answer to a direct question, he repudiated socialism for the United States.

There will be an open house at the SWP headquarters, 6108 Linwood, the night of the broadcast to view the TV program.

FLINT CHEVROLET LOCAL HONORS SPIRIT OF 1937 SITDOWN STRIKES

By Ralph Kelly

FLINT, MICH., Jan. 14 — In a meeting unique for these times, Chevrolet Local 659, UAW - CIO honored the men and women, dead and living, who risked their all to build the union. The fighting spirit of the 1937 sit-down strike also gave its answer to Walter Reuther and the International UAW Board in their recent attempt to throttle The Searchlight, official paper of Local 659.

Pioneers of the early days were introduced and received with enthusiastic applause by the packed auditorium which was resplendent with the union colors, members in original flying squad uniforms, early union buttons and newspaper clippings of stories and pictures of the great sit-down strike days.

Kermit Johnson, '37 Chevy strike leader, was introduced to lead the singing of "Solidarity" and "We Shall Not Be Moved" to the accompaniment of the riginal Strike Band. The enthusiasm and applause mounted and prevailed throughout the whole meeting.

RESPECTS TO LITTLE PEOPLE

President Coburn Walker, spearheading the fight against the International Executive Board for internal democracy of the union, opened the meeting by stating, "We meet today to pay our respects to the little people who walked the picket lines." Contrasting the present methods of the top leaders with those of the past, Walker said. "In the early days we did not use charts and graphs and technical terms to get what the union wanted. We walked in and said to management, 'This is what we want or we'll shut the plants down — and that's the only language the Corporation understands."

Walker then outlined the current fight with the International in its attempt to throttle the local paper, **The Searchlight**, which has been outspoken in its criticism of UAW Pres. Reuther's policies.

He made it clear that Reuther and his satellites could not preach "the democratic way of life" in public speeches and at the same time attempt to institute a dictatorship over the UAW.

GENORA JOHNSON SPEAKS

Genora Johnson Dollinger, organizer of the famous Women's Emergency Brigade of 1937, was introduced and gave a rip-roaring speech that was interrupted many times by spontaneous applause. She predicted "some dark days ahead for labor as America goes on military footing again for World War III."

Genora dealt with the Taft-Hartley law, the higher taxes in store for workers, the job freeze, wage freeze with elimination of escalator clauses, the McCarran-Kilgore Bill which she declared, "is aimed, not at socialists like me, but at labor. I have been a socialist for 20 years, I was a socialist in 1937 when we built this union — and I'm still a socialist today. But this sinister and treacherous bill can jail any militant worker by charging that he at one time or another in his life associated with a red or radical."

After outlining what lay ahead in the immediate future she declared, "The courageous working men and women of this country will stand just so much. . . then they will fight back just as they did in 1937. When that time comes — all of past history proves it will come — we shall be engaged in even more glorious struggles than in '37."

FLINT WORKERS WILL FIGHT

"The workers of Flint have shown the stuff they're made of. We have written in the pages of labor history some of its most glorious and heroic sections. In the days to come we will be on the front line barricades of labor fighting for a decent world for ourselves and our kids," she said.

Everett Sides, militant shop committeeman, stated, "Until very recently the UAW was a dynamic rank - and - file controlled union, and even today when we are fast coming under a bureaucratic, centralized control we still retain our dynamic character.

"We have the right to criticize any officer at any time and the membership of this local intends to retain these God-given rights. If the International carries out their implied threat and bars us from publication of this democratic paper, we serve warning on them that the voice of the Chevrolet worker will not be silenced by their dictatorial, bureaucratic orders," Sides said.

"There are two ways to face the future — under bureaucratic, one-man control such as the AFL — or as free members of a rank-and-file democratically controlled union fighting side by side for a world of peace, prosperity and freedom."

SWP Reply on Skoglund

(Continued from Page 1)

which has been condemned by every big labor organization and civil liberties body as unconstitutional, unjust and a violation of all democratic traditions and principles. This instrument of oppression has been designed to harass foreign-born Americans; to victimize militant unionists; to gag anyone who criticizes th foreign policies of the capitalist rulers and who opposes Big Business plots against the welfare of the people. It aims to outlaw Marxism and to suppress radical political organizations.

DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

If a man like Carl Skoglund, who has lived here for forty years and devoted his life to productive labor and the advancement of the working people, can thus be deported for his union activities and political ideas, who can consider himself secure in his rights? That is the basic issue presented in his case; that accounts for its importance.

The proceeding against Skoglund under the McCarran Act is all the more unwarranted and unjust because the ground for his deportation is former membership in the Communist Party during the 1920's. It is well-known that Skoglund was expelled from the Communist Party in 1928; that he has remained an irreconcilable opponent of all it stands for; that he has been assailed as a Trotskyist by Communist Party leaders over the past twenty years.

In the second place, Skoglund is being punished today because he wouldn't turn stool-pigeon and betray his friends and fellow-workers, as so many ex-members of the Communist Party have been doing. In 1939 the FBI offered him citizenship if he would work along with them. He turned down this dirty proposition, as any honorable man would. Since then he has been suffering the consequences.

LOYAL TO HIS CLASS

Informers, turncoats, and other such traitors to the workers are having a holiday under the patronage of reaction in this country today. These scum are treated like national heroes by the paid press. Skoglund stands out in contrast as a workers' leader who never knuckled under to the employers, who concentrated upon increasing the power of the labor movement, who wouldn't sell out or submit to any threats of intimidation from official hirelings of the capitalist class. For these reasons, he was hated by all the enemies of labor and is now hit by the sweeping witch - hunt against foreign-born and militant leaders of labor.

We believe that the American people don't like this kind of dirty business and are recoiling against it. We believe that many more will come to Skoglund's defense against the efforts of the Department of Justice witch-hunters to deport him. In any event, they will not succeed in taking away his rights and freedom under the McCarran Act without the most vigorous struggle against such a crime. He and his defenders will take every legal step to combat the vicious McCarran Law and save him from deportation. At the same time, they intend to take his case to the American people and to the labor movement.

We hope their fight will be victorious. Such an outcome would not only render justice to Skoglund, but would be an outstanding triumph for American liberties over reaction.

Your letter indicates that if Skoglund should be deported, he will receive a warm welcome in Sweden. It is gratifying to know that he would have friends among the workers there who would come to love and respect him as have the working people of the Northwest who know him best. However, we hope that if he does revisit his birthplace, he will go not as a stigmatized deportee but as a freeman.